

The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

OCTOBER, 1919

LIBRARY
OCT 8 1919

BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Bur of Education
Washington
D C

Lest We Be Afraid

Teaching How To Riot

An American Teacher
in France

From the Locals

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

Toward the New Physical Education

FREQUENTLY the defeat of military training in schools carries with it the defeat of all organized physical training. So it is encouraging that the movement for physical education has received new momentum, and perhaps a new direction, from our war-time experience. Military statistics have disclosed in vivid fashion the scale of our national deficiencies in health. At the same time we have had an object

lesson in the benefits of systematic physical education from our training camps, which—however clumsy and inappropriate their methods, and however baneful their effect on individual initiative and responsibility—have, on the whole, converted the flabby in health into the robust, and the lackadaisical in spirits into the exuberant. The proponents of universal military training base much of their plea upon this physical transformation. If it can be secured to our youth thru other means, we shall hear less about the supposed advantages of that regimen in terms of obedience to authority and the like. To secure it thru compulsory measures in the public schools, the Playground and Recreation Association of America has established a national

information and stimulate legislation. The Service does not put forward compulsory physical training as quite the millennial panacea that the militarists profess universal military training to be. They mention "good housing, good food, and sane regulation of juvenile labor" as "equally necessary" to the production of a sound citizenry; but they hold that a proper physical education will stimulate the development of these

corollary agencies. By proper physical education they seem to mean—and here appears what promises the new direction in the movement—something more than perfunctory setting-up exercises and irrelevant imitations of the manual of arms. They talk about "individual physical examinations at sufficiently close intervals to secure

an accurate record of the child's development" and about "provision for the correction of deficient bodily conditions that impair health." They cite new French legislation that inaugurates outdoor colonies for physically defective children, reorganizes the school medical inspection systems, and aims at simplification of curricula, "which are frightfully overloaded and tend to destroy energy."—From *The Dial* of September 20, 1919.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIALS	171
TEACHING HOW TO RIOT.....	173
AN AMERICAN TEACHER IN FRANCE.....	176
THE OCTOBER MESSAGE.....	179
THE WASHBURN COLLEGE SITUATION.....	182
THE SPIRIT OF TRADE UNIONISM.....	183
A PERPLEXED PEDAGOG.....	183
FROM THE LOCALS.....	185

The American Teacher

Entered as second-class matter, February 21, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.; under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, monthly, except July and August.

Vol. VIII, No. 8

OCTOBER, 1919

One Dollar a Year

GOOD WORK

THE AUTHOR OF "Teaching How to Riot" published in this issue must be credited with the creation of a remarkable piece of literary work. We predict that Mr. Lawson's article will command respect, and also stimulate the development of social justice, wherever it is read. We urge our readers to extend the influence of the article by calling it to the attention of socially-minded persons throughout the country. Mr. Lawson is President of one of our strongest locals of colored teachers.

A WOMAN ORGANIZER

WE BELIEVE it is high time that the American Federation of Teachers had a woman organizer who should give her entire time to the work of organizing locals of women teachers, or of teachers in general. There is in our organization so little of what may seem like sex-antagonism that we believe it is the more natural that a woman organizer should be selected from some of our prosperous locals without any opposition whatever.

MORE NEWS FROM THE LOCALS

THE MATTER OF MAKING use of the national organ by the locals is properly emphasized by Secretary Stecker in his "October Message" in this issue. In the early months of the periodical as a full-fledged national organ the management sent letters to all the locals urging them to appoint Publicity Committees whose duty it should be to keep the other locals informed of interesting work going on. Some of the locals responded, but most of them have given no sign. The large number of locals now makes circularizing for the management a heavy task when taken with other burdens. Therefore, the stimulus to

action in this matter must come from the good examples set by those who do furnish us with good stories of what is going on. We most respectfully urge, however, that all make the fullest use of this avenue to worthy renown.

THE NEWEST LOCALS

IN MARCH AND JUNE of the present year THE AMERICAN TEACHER published the names of the locals of the American Federation of Teachers, closing in the June issue with No 81. The list is taken up in the present issue with No 82 and extended to its present limit, No 112. This means that since the publication of the June issue thirty-one locals have been organized. As indicated in Secretary Stecker's "Message" very little of this work was carried on in the summer vacation. We regard this showing as remarkable.

The American Federation of Teachers long ago reached out to the limits of the country, and is now cleaning up the territory previously skipped over in the rapid growth. We hope soon to be able to announce that every state in the Union contains one or more locals of the organization and that every large city is represented in our list. Even now there are very few of the larger cities that do not have one of our locals. Among these are Cleveland, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Toledo, Detroit, Kansas City, Omaha, Seattle. We believe no other large city has escaped us. A pamphlet containing the names, numbers and the officers of the locals will be furnished on application to Secretary Stecker.

Do you realize that the widespread tendency toward unionization of all the professions will bring your fellow teacher into the fold. Only help him along a bit.

LEST WE BE AFRAID

WORD HAS COME to us that the strike of the Boston policemen has hindered the organization of unions of teachers in a certain part of the country. We can quite understand this, for during the time of a strike among the harbor men of the port of New York a number of teachers refused to join the local teachers' union because of that strike. At another time a member of the same union resigned because members of the I W W had been making trouble in the far West. The habit of fear is still quite strong within us. However, let us not despair.

For there are others who are equally timorous. Among them is one John F. Hylan, Mayor of New York, who has called upon the heads of the city departments to abolish the positions of all who are "agitators and troublemakers" in their departments. This order was given out because of the attempt of several organizations of city employes to combine and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. These organizations had indicated no desire to strike; in fact, they expressed opposition to the strike as a method for their purpose. Nevertheless, the Mayor was afraid.

We suspect that more self-contained persons than Mayor Hylan have also been afraid since the period of industrial upheaval has come upon us. Some of these persons have endeavored to conceal their fear by a show of high contempt for the striking workers and their demands. Incidentally they have betrayed a contempt for certain elements of social justice established thru the union movement. We may mention the names of Lindley M. Garrison, the Receiver of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, George M. Cohan, leader of the theater managers, Police Commissioner Curtis, of Boston, and Judge Gary, of the United States Steel Corporation. It is very unlikely that any considerable number of the workers themselves have been terrified by the fearful attitudes assumed by these four representatives of the employers. If the workers have not seemed to accept the challenges of these men in every case, it is not because they hesitate to meet threat with menace, but rather because

they are engaged in the terribly serious business of making human life possible for themselves and their dependents. This is too important a business to interrupt by playing at the game of Chinese dragons.

It is quite easy to see why the guild of unjust employers should be afraid, but it is not possible to explain the fear of teachers by a reference to the same set of economic factors. However, we do know that most of the mental processes of the members of our profession involve the ready submission to the voice of authority. And the voice of authority comes near to being the "master's voice" of industry.

FROM THE BUSINESS MANAGER

THE BUSINESS MANAGER of The American Teacher desires to inform those members of the American Federation of Teachers who do not receive addressed copies of the periodical that copies can be addressed only in case the Secretary of the local has forwarded to the New York office the necessary list of members. All Secretaries are provided with blanks for this purpose immediately after the locals are organized. Secretaries who still receive bundles of papers for their members are urged once more to send in typewritten lists of names, alphabetically arranged, and with full addresses. All Secretaries are urged to keep the office supplied with names of their new members.

Members are again urged to bring "The American Teacher" to the attention of everyone interested in education. Intelligent citizens are glad enough to be informed of a live movement that is directed toward the general good.

The American Teacher

Democracy in Education Education for Democracy
Published monthly, except July and August by
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City
HENRY R. LINVILLE, Editor
MAX ROSENHAUS, Business Manager

At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes in address.

Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check (New York exchange).

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, ONE DOLLAR FOR THE YEAR—FOREIGN, \$1.10.

Teaching How to Riot

EDWARD H LAWSON

President, The Washington Elementary Teachers Union, Local No 27, A F of T

RIOTS, like Chinese, often forget they are dead, and come back. In movie spectacle alone, modern dramaturgy makes provision for the race clash. Inter-racial mob violence at Washington next time will find scenarioist and camera-man on hand urging the thing be enacted, especially in the White House vicinity, by daytime exposure. And the dramatist per se, for the purpose of studying character and audience, will be in the midst of things shielded by a Ford tank.

From the standpoint of realistic drama, to say which was the better riot, Washington or Chicago, would be idiotic enterprise, like reciting Dunbar to a Swedish maid. To be honest at the start, I commend the Washington riot for exceptional technique, and shall merely set forth certain bogus tenets in the Windy City situation.

Causes of racial discord in Chicago can be accurately defined. They are included under the general and usual heads: (1) Influx of southern colored population and southern white population into a competing labor field; (2) exodus of southern colored population and a desire to frighten the masses of southern colored people into remaining on the farm; (3) political corruption; (4) criminality among whites and blacks; (5) sex-viciousness; and (6) cheap journalism. These causes are so obvious as to require no abstract argument. Fact is, this sort of middle-class thing has been done to death in motion-picture and cheap magazine for years. The ability to define these cause accurately removes this riot from the sphere of art, and relegates it to the mercy of the divines and the college professors.

From a viewpoint this side of the Appalachians it would seem that the matter of race was a minor factor in the Chicago disturbance. Chicago was a group clash, in which minor elements of the participating groups made inter-racial relations very uncomfortable. In the showdown, for the most part it has proved to be an economic readjustment incident to war times, guided by political jackals, anarchists and criminals of

both races. This situation will be solved when Negro labor is reassured and properly unionized, the larger problem being reassurance. Colored university men are at work, and have been for months in Chicago, both for and against unionism. It is gratifying to note that large numbers of colored men are learning the value of affiliation.

But Washington offered a different setting. The black Prince Dedajazmatch of Abyssinia had just been received at the White House when the storm broke. It cannot be denied that this recrudescence of the Booker T Washington incident caused the canon of racial subservience to lose some of the force which it had derived from tradition. Arrogance and race snobbery, by this royal incident, received a jolt at the very time that the Reverend Thomas Dixon, Jr, was sojourning at the Capital, in connection with "The Red Dawn," looking on at the White House across the way, and boiling over.

Washington city itself had been warming up for years. Animalism in ferment had been observed daily since thousands of southern white war workers had been called, and explosion had been predicted by several eighth-rate mob pathologists. On the Negro atmosphere there were pathognomonic symptoms, such as morbid consciousness of race, undeveloped racial capacities, and strongly repressed vital human aptitudes, all leading to emotional tension and social hysteria without adequate outlet. A Caucasian atmosphere of arrogance and snobbery, tintured with a dash of cynical dryrot, veneered with near-urbanity and pervasive charity, existed. This atmosphere was forced into a situation of imperative coexistence, but intolerable coalescence with the black. Given such a condition, add to it now a high percentage of ethical slackers among the personnel of schools and churches, and the operator is ready to film the climax.

Colored Washington, immediately preceding the riot, perused tons of literature carefully prepared by intellectual Bolsheviks. In addition, such doctrine as the following by Woodrow Wilson was ringing everlastingly

in their ears: "We have forgotten the principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, how to resist, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters." Reading this, the Negro remembered Crispus Attucks and Boston Common.

When, therefore, a foundation of scurrility, as at Atlanta, East St. Louis, Memphis and Chicago, began to be laid by newspapermen, by white boys, very possibly by products of the Washington high school classes in journalism—when anti-Negroid calumnies that have never been proved were set forth in massive headlines daily—it was natural that with this foundation of sophistry the superstructure must be compensatory.

Flashing between the dual pathologic atmosphere of white and black the spark was delivered by *The Washington Post*, which newspaper printed the following item of Monday morning journalism, by way of ignition:

MOBILIZATION FOR TONIGHT

"It was learned that a mobilization of every available service man stationed in or near Washington or on leave here has been ordered for tomorrow evening near the Knights of Columbus hut on Pennsylvania Avenue between 7th and 8th Streets. The hour for assembly is 9 o'clock and the purpose is a "clean-up" that will cause the events of the last two evenings to pale into insignificance."

The Washington blacks had twelve hours in which to make ready. In that time District of Columbia and Baltimore estimates disclose the expenditure of about \$14,000 for guns and ammunition. The *Post* article had caused among Washington's colored population an anthropomorphic apprehension of the sequence of phenomena. The Washington Negro foresaw an East St. Louis, a Houston, a Chester.

During the day the black intellectuals heard the sinister message directing that they stay within their homes. It appeared that the alley Negro of Washington, whose name is legion, had determined to meet the white rakehells and riffraff. This determination was a culminative effect of years of repression accentuated by the war crisis in which the entire Washington Negro regiment, the 372nd, was given the war cross at Brest and the double-cross at Meade.

Certain it is, on Monday night, the alley Negro poured out on the front streets of the national capital like the steerage coming up from the hold—some sociological error had caused the ship of state to ride an uneven keel. The Negro was adequately armed, loose-fish and Nana Sahib, jade and Jezebel—and ripe for the clash.

Bullies and bounders and hoodlums in the highly respectable uniform of the United States marines, in battle formation, without orders, amid sinister silence, marched into the heart of the Negro district. But when they proceeded to take the situation in hand, something went wrong. Brickbats flew, bullets sang, black men, fresh from Epley Ridge and the Sector Marbache and Hill 304 stood in the middle of the way and blocked the passage, and with more or less din, and roll of musketry, and braggadocio and fustian, the disturbance recurred nightly for four moderately well styled engagements. Alley Negroes had come to the conclusion that it is humanely dangerous to rely on virtue and prayer in every exigency.

Now, to get to the muttons. Five hundred colored public school teachers of Washington are in dire quandary. While every teacher feels that the best pedagogical treatment of the riot is not to treat it at all, most surely, as in the famous Wood case, some perverse urchin, alley-boy perhaps, is going to ask some riot questions. The Parents' League, composed of 20,000 colored parents, is taking a very decided attitude on school matters, picketing buildings in which teachers to whom it has objections are employed. The league issued a manifest during the riot directing colored people to stay off the streets, but to defend themselves.

Now when the inquiry comes as to the meaning of "defend yourselves," as it will come, the teacher will be compelled to do one of two things. She will declare to the class, that like Miss Alice Wood, she is only an amateur in such matters, and should, therefore, really not care to discuss them,—or she will enter into a free and full discussion of the entire matter. Taking the former step, she engages the displeasure of 20,000 parents! taking the latter, if we understand the logic of events, she will gain the immediate

censure of the Board of Education, possibly a reprimand from the Superintendent, and a probable suspension with loss of pay for a week or more.

To be specific, let us take the case of Halbfinger of the Home Guard, shot dead on Tuesday evening. Halbfinger's daughter is a teacher of little children. It is possible to prevent amateurish discussion of the riot wherever she is employed? Or take the case of J B Hunter, colored university man, member of the Washington Elementary Teachers Union, who, three weeks after affairs had cooled off, was surrounded by white men as he passed thru Lafayette Park in front of the White House at midday, and made to understand that no Negroes should pass thru this branch of Paradise. When a crowd gathered, and policemen appeared, blackjack in hand, Hunter was hustled into a citizen's automobile, taken to the police precinct, and compelled to deposit \$25 collateral—charged with the disorderly conduct of walking through Lafayette Square in front of the White House. The case was dismissed next morning in the Police Court. Is it not likely that there will be some very amateurish discussion of this incident in public school classrooms during the long winter hours?

Then, is it not fair, in view of the Wood case circumstances, to ask that the Board of Education of the District of Columbia prescribe a course in rioting for the schools of Washington? Many good things could be put into such a course. Limits of classroom discussion could be accurately defined. The teacher could learn and iterate and reiterate those limits to the class without fear of future suffering. The following may serve as a basis upon which a committee, composed of inter-racial membership, could effect a worth while course in riot reaction:

The fundamental major cause of Washington's mobocracy is race prejudice, a function often deliberately engendered where it does not naturally exist. Public schools in Washington are powerless to attack this prejudice in any effective way. Spread of this prejudice is a recidivist tendency in the Anglo-Saxon, and contrary to the liberal spirit of the age. The particular manifestation of cultivated prejudice conducive to Washington mobocracy is segregation.

Washington operates a dual school system. It operates a complete white system from its superintendent down, and a similarly complete colored system from janitor up, with full board representation. In segregation the white Washingtonian develops a dogmatic criticism in relation to the black. The colored citizen, on the other hand, develops only an impressionistic criticism of the white—pardon, please, my Bergson.

In many intellectual interests black and white are far apart and different. Often the black man's thoughts are ponderous while the white man's thoughts are effervescent, and *vice versa* more often. In segregate existence two intellectual, emotional and volitional atmospheres are created and will be preserved separate as long as segregation endures. At critical moments it takes only a spark flashed between these atmospheres to effect an assimilation of specific densities down to the level of democratic idealism. This assimilation is accompanied by thunderous gunfire, by musketry and lightning flash, and by gusts of passion denoting the temporary dominion of mob rancor.

After the riot subsides, segregation endures, and hence mob action will be increasingly recurrent. Whenever the spark is applied, the surcharged atmospheres will assimilate. Certainly the school child, living in such a society as this which Washington affords, should be taught in the public classroom what to do when the inevitable riot recurs. And the Board of Education should prescribe what that instruction shall be. If Chicago wants a real race riot, and not a mere industrial derangement, she should turn to the politicians who want a segregate school system like Washington's in the windy city.

Rights and duties of black and white police, of black and white soldier, of black and white citizen should be a part of the curriculum. Otherwise the white boy who grows up to patrol the beat will believe as now that he has the right to search a Negro household without warrant and in plain clothes, and the Negro girl who grows up to keep her threshold inviolate, will feel it her duty to shoot the unidentified intruder dead. Instances of educational need, based on actual incidents, might be multiplied.

Why is the black population of Washington morbid? Is there surcease thru the agency of public schools? What are the undeveloped racial capacities of the black Washingtonian? Can the schools expand development of the Negroid element? How are the entirely human aptitudes of the Washington Negro violently repressed? Who are the ethical slackers that shirk the duties of their profession? Answers come to many of these questions, but there is none who dares, or cares to pronounce them.

For instance, the man or woman who would suggest the staging of a competitive military drill, or shooting match, between the best colored and best white company of high school cadets, or the city championship baseball game between the colored and white high school champions for the educational purposes incident to emotional outlet, would be branded as an agitator and inciter to riot, albeit the drill, or match, or game would be a riot-according-to-Hoyle—or rather an adequate substitute for a riot according to the rules of the Board of Education.

Each new riot in Washington will bring the best elements of the races together for

mutual protection. Striking machinists at Union Station but yesterday stipulated that on the return of the shopmen to work all non-union colored laborers and operatives should be re-employed without prejudice. Decay of the system of social status will be a noticeable by-product of the riot. Ultimately, if not now, the schools will make Washington safe from mobocracy, which is an inevitable by-product of segregation.

Riots, such as Washington's, are regarded today not as criminal tendencies so much as weaknesses inherent in the being of the present social structure at the national capital, beyond the power of either white or black group to overcome. The cause and purpose and end of it all are mysteries as dark and inscrutable as they were in Egypt centuries ago. For the purpose of increasing mutual prosperity, expansion of business interests, growth in wealth and culture and liberal spirit, Washingtonians have conceived that the true way to accomplish these results is not by pulling others down, but by uplifting all to the level of common prosperity, that in union and affiliation all may grow greater and stronger together.

An American Teacher in France

WILLIAM I HELLER

*Honorary President, Federation of Teachers Unions of France
and Member, Local No 5, New York*

IT all happened as a matter of accident. Had I not arrived too late at the British Military Control Bureau one Saturday morning, in August, 1919, to have my passport vised, a painful and dilatory process always, I should certainly not have gone to Tours, and had the honor thrust upon me of being an honorary president of the Federation of Teachers Unions of France. As it was I found myself in Paris that Saturday afternoon with nothing to do, and likely to spend an uninteresting Sunday. Passing by one of the numerous newsstands or kiosks, and with my inveterate habit of glancing at the headlines, I noticed that the newspaper *l'Humanité*, founded by the great French

Socialist Jean Jaures was featuring an address which Anatole France had just made before the annual convention of the Teachers Unions of France in session at Tours.

After a hearty "*Merci Monsieur*" for my ten centimes, the paper was mine. Except for the speech there was a very meagre report of the doings of the convention, and there was no indication that the convention had adjourned or was still in session. I had given no thought or interest to school matters or teachers since I had begun my European trip which was purely a business one, but I saw in this new situation an occasion for getting some interesting information which might be of use to my fellow teachers

in America, and which beside might throw some interesting light upon the position of the teacher and the conditions of teaching in France. I determined to "take a chance" at seeing perhaps some remains of the convention. At any rate, once in Tours, I would find myself in an interesting part of France, and could at least spend a delightful Sunday viewing the romantic chateaux of the Loire.

From my room near the rue du Faubourg Montmartre, I took the metro Nord-Sud at Notre Dame de Lorette, and was soon at the Gare d'Orleans where the great French lines radiate to the South. The station was alive with the usual week-end crowds, and not a few of my fellow-countrymen, officers and Red Cross workers were making ready to return to Tours, which during the war was an army headquarters. There is always generally interesting company when you travel in the French compartment trains, and much of what might otherwise have been a rather tedious trip on a hot Saturday afternoon was made interesting by the stories of an American officer who had been wounded and gassed in the Champagne sector during the American offensive in 1917.

We arrived at Tours about six in the evening after passing several German internment camps. A contingent of brawny Montana and Wisconsin troops was just assembling at the station all beaming and happy at the thought that they were at last on their way to Brest and home, after twenty-two months' service abroad. Entering the buffet of the station, I was immediately recognized as an American, and questioned closely about events in the States, a good many of the boys being suspiciously concerned about the workings of the new prohibition law.

The first street leading from the station is the Avenue du President Wilson. I had read in the *Humanité* that the meeting of the teachers was held in the Bourse du Travail or Labor Temple. After walking a short distance I came into full view of the picturesque Hotel de Ville, a comparatively modern building, but with lines that harmonized with the ancient appearance of the city. I entered out of curiosity, and found myself in the midst of excited and gesticulating humanity. I knew then I had stumbled across something. A discreet inquiry from a neighbor elicited

the reply that this was indeed the "congres" of the "Federation des Syndicats d'Instituteurs et Institutrices de France," and that I had just arrived at the closing on the Saturday afternoon session, but there would be the final one that evening. My trip after all, had not been in vain.

The word American has a magic ring today wherever you go on the European continent. Even tho in some quarters in Europe, it is denied or only grudgingly admitted, it is nevertheless a pretty general opinion that the timely intervention of our armies prevented the German military power from accomplishing its work of destruction. Likewise the American soldier has always seemed to be in possession of a good deal of wealth, and that combined with his universally good behavior and manliness has kept Americans high in the estimation of Europe. I edged my way up to where there seemed to be an important group of officials and having introduced myself as an American and as one who was interested in and knew a good deal of the union movement among teachers in America, I soon became the target for many inquisitive French teachers. They were enthusiastic at the fact that there was some representative from a foreign country there, even tho by accident. By this time the various groups were leaving the hall, and upon the invitation of M. Foulon, the Secrétaire-Generale of the Federation, I accompanied the executive committee to dinner.

The conversation of the dozen or so French school teachers was extremely animated and as sparkling as the good Touraine wine which graced the table. There was also present M. Dumoulin, the Secretary Adjoint of the Confédération Generale du Travail, with which the teachers' unions of France are affiliated. The C G T corresponds in some particulars to the American Federation of Labor. M. Dumoulin questioned me a great deal about American political institutions, altho he seemed to have a much better grasp of them than I. He told me he was eager to be up to date on the American labor situation, as he was to go to Washington in the Fall as a representative of France to the International Labor Conference. One of the teachers who had seemed a little skeptical as to whether I was well equipped to discuss international af-

fares, suddenly asked me if I was in the habit of reading *The New Republic* and the *Nation*, and when I replied in the affirmative he beamed with delight and listened to me very attentively thereafter. Another teacher asked me if I was familiar with Angelo Patri's book, "A Modern Schoolmaster," and when I said that I even knew Mr Patri intimately, he seemed hardly to believe it. In my turn I asked whether the teachers were familiar with the works of John Dewey and whether there were any French translations of "School and Society," or "Democracy and Education." None of them had ever read the books, but there was no doubt from the trend of their conversation that they were working along the lines indicated in Professor Dewey's works and that the chief mission of their unions was the democratization of education in France. It was not at all difficult to imagine myself at a meeting of a teachers' union in America, for the problems under discussion at that dinner table in Tours were almost identical with ours.

After dinner we adjourned to the Hotel de Ville for the final evening session of the Convention. The delegates, to the number of about seven hundred, were already assembled, and one who was not familiar with the Gallic temperament and its propensity for garrulousness, would have declared that the convention hall was characterized by "extreme disorder." But silence came quickly as M. Bernard, a high school teacher of English and president of the session opened the meeting. Before I had an opportunity to intercept what seemed to be a plot to advertise me, I found myself occupying a chair in the most conspicuous place on the platform to the left of the president. As I looked upon the many earnest faces before me, I could not help thinking that only by meeting such an audience, representative of the intellectual life of France, could one get a true estimate of French character. Like every other American abroad, I had made more or less of a "study" of "boulevard life," easy, careless and gilded. But here I was confronted with the builders of French youth, with the serious minded men and women who will certainly have one of the biggest shares in reconstructing France and saving it from the general wave of indifference, immorality and

senseless pleasures that is threatening the integrity of the land today. I was surprised to note, as the number of vari-colored ribbons which the men wore in their button holes, indicated, the number of them who as officers and privates, less than a year ago were defending the soil of France with their lives. There were several who were blinded and others who wore the cross of the Legion of Honor. And the thought came to me that these were all good union teachers, who at great expense had made trips from distant parts of France to attend the convention. I could not help thinking that there were certain individuals in our own country, occupying high educational positions, who held to the doctrine that it was inconsistent to be a lover of one's country and a member of a labor union at the same time. What about these French heroes who withstood the hell-fire of the German guns, and who were now as equally determined to defend their rights as members of a union organization? The fact that they believed in unionization; and in affiliation with the Confederation Generale du Travail, made them none the less eager to leave the classroom for the battlefield when they felt that they had a just cause to defend.

It may surprise the teachers who read this, as it surprised me that evening in Tours to learn of the radicalism which permeates the teachers' unions in France. I frankly confess that I was taken aback at the nature of the topics which were under discussion that evening. And yet the meeting of the convention, the attitude of which was of most bitter hatred and antagonism toward what they called the "bourgeois" government of Clemenceau took place in the City Hall, being held with the sanction of the Mayor. I could not help thinking of a certain teachers' union in America which had been denied the use of the school buildings merely for criticising the educational policy of a board of education.

The teachers were congratulating themselves on the fact that a law had just passed in the Chamber of Deputies, permitting all government employees to unionize and to affiliate with any political party they desired. This made it possible for another group of teachers organizations, known as the Ami-

cales, who were not affiliated with the Confederation Generale du Travail, for fear of offending their superiors, to come over in a body to the teachers' unions or "syndicats" and thus to make the teachers' unions of France one of the most powerful labor groups today.

There was the same recital there at that convention at Tours that one might hear at a union meeting in the States. There were stories of official oppression, of examples of tyranny toward the teacher at the hands of school inspectors, insufficient salaries, unsanitary schoolbuildings and limited higher educational facilities. The French unions are conducting a vigorous campaign for the "emancipation of the schools" claiming that a good deal of the high school education in France, which is paid for, restricts education to the children of the richer classes or the "bourgeoisie." They demand a free system of education from the primary grades to the university as in America, so that higher as well as lower education will be within the reach of all.

The session lasted till two in the morning, but so absorbed was every one in the topics under discussion that few left the hall. In fact, I was one of the few, for the oratorical efforts of some of the teachers began to tire me. I met my friends at the hotel the next

morning and had lunch with them when they gave me their impressions of the results of the convention. I was flattered to be told that they considered the visit of their American friend one of the things they would remember with interest.

I took the train home to Paris that afternoon. In my compartment was one of the French teacher-delegates. She had come from Morbihan, Brittany, to attend the convention. "But when I get back to Paris," she said, "I shall have a sad duty to perform. I must go to Verdun to locate the grave of my fiance who fell in the war," and tears welled to her eyes, and her voice choked with sobs.

It may not be my lot to visit Europe for a long while to come, but I shall always cherish the memories of my visit to Tours in August, 1919.

Mr. Heller does not inform his readers, but the fact is that he addressed the Convention at the urgent invitation of the President. And now French teachers know thru their representatives, and from the published address in *l'Humanité*, all about the teachers' union movement in America, including some of the characteristic abuses of educational authority such as have shamed New York and Washington. We are under the greatest obligation to Mr. Heller for his initiative in attending the Convention of French teachers, and congratulate him on his ability to use his college French so effectively as to draw rounds of applause.

EDITOR, *The American Teacher*.

The October Message

F G STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers.

THE American Federation of Teachers has passed the ten thousand mark in membership. Its prospects are better than ever before. The increasing number of inquiries daily received indicate a great awakening among the teachers. Nor is this metamorphosis confined to any one region of the country. It comes from all directions, from all States, from cities and country districts, from elementary, high, normal and college instructors. It is a period of reconstruction in education as in all other things. In view of present-day conditions there is

deep significance in the ten thousand membership. It means, first of all, that the American Federation of Teachers has already acquired the foremost place among organizations of classroom teachers. In its membership, its committees, its officers and its activities lie great possibilities. To this must be added of course, labor's great strength and keen interest in educational matters. The success of this movement depends very largely upon the appreciation on the part of the membership of the significance and the possibilities of the movement. Success will

be measured in a growing consciousness of the things that remain undone; the things that can be done. Classroom teachers have had so small a part in the creating and directing of educational policies that they are slow to grasp the opportunities when presented. If each of the ten thousand members were to make a careful inventory of the improvements which he sees could be made if each local attempted to crystalize the suggestions and formulate a platform of objects to be worked for, if the locals in each State were to carry this process a step further, having in mind the peculiar needs of that State, and if the national needs were to be inventoried and worked out in the same manner, who can foresee the results?

But the teacher is necessarily interested in many things not strictly a part of the educational system. He lives in an economic world as well. A meager salary and the ever increasing requirements in life constantly bring home the realization that the economic need is the basic one; and yet, how much attention has ever been paid to economic considerations by the teacher? Thought has been so influenced as to make it appear that all facts and theories dealing with economic affairs are political and controversial in their nature, and hence "verboden." As the teachers enter into the educational reconstruction they will find themselves constantly coming up against barriers which limit hopelessly the scope of their work. It will therefore be enlightening to take lessons from organized labor. It will become natural to add to the campaigns for salary and working conditions and a democratic school system other campaigns for other objects equally desirable.

A timely instance is the subject of *co-operation*. Organized labor has long been interested in this movement. If it does not now appeal to teachers, it is sure to do so as soon as their acquaintance with its meaning and importance begins. Altho not so thoroly developed as in England, the co-operative movement is beyond the experimental stage in many States in this country. The American Federation of Labor long ago endorsed it and have even requested that all affiliated national and international organizations take up the matter of the contributions requested by the Buffalo convention. At that

convention in 1917 a special committee on co-operation had reported as follows:

"1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale cooperation.

"2. That this appointee shall have office room in the American Federation of Labor building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

"3. That he shall visit localities in which cooperative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

"4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trades unions as such shall not form cooperative societies but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in cooperation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general cooperative movement.

"5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor be requested to contribute the sum of (\$1.00) one dollar in order to establish successfully the Federation bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true co-operation in the United States and Canada."

"The convention declared itself in full accord with the intent and purpose sought to be obtained by the recommendations of the special committee, approved the plan submitted and referred the entire matter to the Executive Council with recommendations to make such deviations therefrom as may be deemed expedient, advisable and essential. The Executive Council thereupon declared that it will be essential that all affiliated organizations—that is, local unions of the national and international unions, shall contribute not less than \$1.00 each in order to successfully inaugurate and conduct the co-operative movement for the purpose of serving the men and women of labor as well as

conserving their means of livelihood."—A F of L *Bulletin*.

This request by the American Federation of Labor has been made. The contribution has been made out of the A F T treasury. It is the belief of the Executive Council that the locals should not be asked to contribute \$1.00 each, in view of the wide range in membership of the locals. It is, however, their belief that the members and officers of the locals will be sufficiently interested to meet a request of one cent per member which would bring the same total at \$1.00 per local. This is not in the nature of an assessment but an appeal to the membership of the American Federation of Teachers to interest themselves in a great economic movement which has proved its value and will bring great relief to teachers as well as to other workers. The members will do well to seek literature on the matter; to get in touch with workers in the cooperative movement; to join in with local committees and lend their support in various ways. The Executive Council would be very glad to receive communications on the subject and suggestions for a campaign. Literature dealing with the subject may be secured from cooperative organizations or from the Secretary-Treasurer.

An extended Western trip was begun by Mr Stillman September 6th, from which he will probably not return before November 1st. During this time he will have visited many cities and the majority of Western States to the Pacific Coast. Mr Lampson's itinerary beginning with September 11th included the Central and North Atlantic States and the end of October will find him in Missouri after having visited many cities in the Ohio Valley. He will later spend some time in Kansas, and other Western States. Those who know of teachers anywhere in the country and especially in the States referred to, who are interested in the American Federation of Teachers, will confer a favor upon all concerned by communicating with Mr Stillman or Mr Lampson at their home addresses as printed in this paper. Altho their schedules are well crowded with correspondence, conferences and addresses to meetings of teachers, arrangements can be made to lengthen their stay or otherwise meet any new situation called to their attention.

On another page of this issue will be found a list of locals chartered up to the date of going to press. Fourteen charters were issued in June, one in July, three in August and seven in the first half of September. The St. Louis local has three hundred and seven charter members out of a possible three hundred and forty. From March 25th, to Sept. 17th, as many charters were issued as in the three previous years of existence.

In attempting to show the growth and development of the American Federation of Teachers I have not been influenced by a spirit of boastfulness, but rather by a feeling of a growing responsibility which rests upon all of us to make the most of the advantages it affords us. At this point I wish to call attention to the almost complete failure of our members to appreciate the means which the teachers have never had before, to set forth in a paper conducted for class-room teachers the story of their working conditions, their relations with each other, the board of education, the newspapers and the public. There are more than a score of groups of teachers which could tell stories of unusual interest, stories of well laid plans and well conducted campaigns, stories of success and acquired influence, stories such as have never appeared in print. Probably the weakest spot in our organization thus far is the failure to make the American Teacher a real official organ with a vital message for every reader. The Editor deserves great credit for what he has been able to do with so little support. It is obvious that a magazine of this sort cannot be the creature of the Editor's brain. How long will it take us to realize what can be done to advance the interests of ourselves and of other teachers thru its columns?

No more industrial rivalries, no more wars: work and peace. Whether we wish it or no, the hour is come when we must be citizens of the world or see all civilization perish. My friends, permit me to utter a most ardent wish, a wish which it is necessary for me to express too rapidly and incompletely, but whose primary idea seems to me calculated to appeal to all generous natures. I wish, I wish with all my heart, that a delegation of the teachers of all nations might soon join the Workers' Internationale in order to prepare in common a universal form of education, and advise as to methods of sowing in young minds ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of peoples. —Anatole France, from address to Convention of Teachers' Unions at Tours, on August 7, 1919.

The Washburn College Situation

CHAS B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers.

THE summary dismissal of J E Kirkpatrick, Professor of History and Political Science at Washburn College, and a member of Washburn Teachers Federation, No 99, is another indication of the most dangerous weakness in American education. The success of popular government depends on the effective education of the citizenry in the spirit and methods of democracy. And yet the field which the American people have, perhaps unconsciously, allowed to be most thoroly Prussianized, is that of education. The great majority of our educational systems and institutions, from the lowest to the highest, both public and private, are autocratically administered by a hierarchy, with all authority originating at the top. Such evidence of a democratic atmosphere as we occasionally find is due usually to the presence at the top of a benevolent despot who permits it, seldom to any organic provision for it in the method of organization.

President Womer of Washburn College apparently sensed the evil influence of this situation, when on June 7th he secured the endorsement of the Washburn faculty of his plan for an advisory faculty committee to be consulted on all matters of academic concern, and specifically on all faculty dismissals. This committee was to have only advisory functions, and was only partially democratic, since but two members were elective, the balance consisting of the deans. But the resignations of three members of the faculty had been demanded summarily during the year, and autocratic habits of mind and action are not easily broken. On June 11, President Womer demanded Professor Kirkpatrick's resignation, and refused to give any charges, or to consult the faculty committee just authorized at his own request for that very purpose.

The psychology of the autocrat Americans have tolerated in so many presidents of colleges and universities, boards of education, trustees and other school authorities, that it has become a menace to our national life. It is most disastrous in our public schools be-

cause of the greater number affected, but the comparative maturity of college students makes it particularly deadly in its effects in higher institutions. Nothing tends to develop cynicism in a student's mind so rapidly as the constant mental query, "Is he saying that because he believes it, or because he would lose his position if he said anything else?"

Legally, President Womer may be responsible only to a self-perpetuating board of trustees, which in turn is responsible only to itself. But in a democracy, all educational institutions, public and private, are performing an essentially public function. If we are to develop genuine American manhood and womanhood, a generation equipped for self-government, from the elementary school thru the college and university our children and young men and women must never be exposed in the classroom to an atmosphere of servile bowing to coercion. Organized labor has been alert in seeing the danger and in suggesting the remedy. Its latest action in that connection was the adoption at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor of the following principle:

"Teachers should have tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full public hearings before a commission on which the teachers are fairly represented."

President Womer, during my interview with him, assured me that steps were about to be taken to democratize the constitution of Washburn College, and that in the future, before recommending changes in the faculty, he would consult a faculty committee. But inconsistently, he insisted that the case of Professor Kirkpatrick was closed.

Serious as is the personal and professional injustice to Professor Kirkpatrick, by far the most important issue is that of the elimination of official favoritism, and of petty personal considerations in matters of promotion and reemployment, and in general, of democratic administration. On that fundamental issue, there can be no doubt of the verdict of an awakened public opinion, in the light of

the bitter German object-lesson of the molding of a nation thru an autocratic educational system.

THE SPIRIT OF TRADE UNIONISM

LYDIA J TROWBRIDGE

President, The Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers

YOU ask why I am a trade unionist. Let me try to make you understand. You who have just been swept into a union on a wave of protest against certain working conditions.

Of course, if you have no ideals, no standards of what a self-respecting worker should do and be, no longing for a channel thru which to reach your fellow men in other walks of life—if you have none of these, organization means nothing to you but a way to get shorter hours and more pay, a club to hold over somebody's head. And when you have won the added per cent. and your work has been lightened, you will neglect the union till a new crisis arises.

To many of us organization means far more. It is the expression in practical form of brotherhood, of cooperation; it is an instrument thru which our single voice may be magnified a thousand, a million fold, till all the world must hear.

No wise business man today dreams of conducting his affairs without reference to other business men. He joins the Business Men's Association or the Commercial Club, or whatever the local merchants call it. If the town is too small, they organize the township, or the county. If eligible he joins the Manufacturers' Association or the Rotary Club. He knows that he must fail, alone; that he *must cooperate*. What plain Paul Smith says, nobody cares; but everyone listens to the State Fruit-Growers' Association, of which Paul Smith is a member.

Just so with the worker. The world "will little note or long remember" the woes of Pauline Levinsky; but the demand issued by a union of fifteen thousand garment workers or a thousand film workers the public reads and discusses.

But the spirit of co-operation is only the first step in the education of a trade-unionist

—an education, not thru books, but thru living, pulsing human beings; people often who have little time for books, who do not give a fig for some books that you and I like immensely, but people who have ideals, and the brains to distinguish between what will reach those ideals and what will not. They see visions and dreams of a real democracy. More than that they are willing to give their lives to win it, a democracy that draws neither color line nor race line, that includes business manager as well as humblest worker.

"Our country is the World," said Garrison; "Our countrymen are Mankind." Such a democracy can be founded on Brotherhood only. The workers of the world are catching the spirit. Thru organization they pass it on.

A PERPLEXED PEDAGOG

BENJAMIN C GRUENBERG

Julia Richman High School, New York

SOME weeks ago I was conversing with the principal of one of the largest high schools in the world, in what seemed to me at the time a perfectly friendly and human fashion, about things in general. In the course of the conversation he remarked, in what was apparently a casual sort of way, that he had the impression that the newspapers were very unsatisfactory in their dealings with Russia. He felt, as I recall, that they were not only concealing important information about that unhappy county, but were actually saying things about it that were not one hundred per cent. so. At that time, I was inclined to agree with him, in a general sort of way.

Since this occurrence, which at the time did not arouse very deep feelings in me, I have been driven to brooding over it, and to lying awake o' nights. This is bad both for my family and for the public—for I am engaged to teach in a public school, and lying awake o' nights affects the quality of my service to the public. The reason for my brooding is that I have made an important discovery since that apparently casual conversation. I have discovered that it is considered wicked for a person (or at least for a teacher) to do one or more of the following:

(a) Suspect the veracity of the newspapers, or of any of them;

(b) Suspect discrimination in the pre-

sensation of news, on the part of the newspapers;

(c) Think that any good may still be left in Russia outside the remnants of the czarist system and personnel.

A teacher in Washington (D. C.) has been publicly stigmatized and penalized for having ventured the opinion, in reply to a question in a "current events" class, that the Soviet government might be of greater benefit to the people of Russia than was the absolutism of the czar.

A teacher in a still larger city was suspended for eight weeks without pay and without charges; and was then put on trial for having said in substance what the Principal above mentioned said to me, and what two or three Senators (U S) said repeatedly on the floor of the Senate chamber and elsewhere.

Now what perplexes me and keeps me awake nights is my inability to decide as to what my own course should be.

(1) Should I publicly denounce the Principal for having said what it now appears improper for anyone to think—much less say?

(2) Or should I be loyal to this particular Superior Officer and say nothing?

If I report to the still more Superior Officer, and get that Principal in bad, I should have to answer (a) for my disloyalty to the first Superior Officer; and (b) for not having more promptly exposed his infamy.

If I do not report to my still higher officers, this unprincipled educator might go on corrupting the school system to no one knows what calamitous end. And besides, there is constantly fluttering about the threshold of my conscience the unspeakable suspicion that this Superior Officer was trying to trap me, that sooner or later he will expose my silence as evidence of conduct unbecoming a teacher. Under the rules of our system it is an unpardonable sin to make adverse comment, report or complaint against a "superior;" and it is an unpardonable sin to think on certain subjects. But it is evident that I permitted another to commit the latter sin without knocking him down on the spot; and one of my constant dreads is that he is holding it over me until he is good and ready to let it fall upon my head.

What is a poor perplexed pedagog to do, torn thus by conflicting emotions?

WHAT THE HOUSE BILL FOR TEACHERS' RETIREMENT PROVIDES

There shall be deducted from the basic salary of every teacher in the public schools of the District of Columbia every year an amount sufficient, with interest at 4 per cent per annum, compounded annually, to purchase an annuity equal to 1 per cent of his annual basic salary for each year of his whole term of service. If a teacher teaches 40 years after this legislation goes into effect on an annual basic salary of \$800, enough money will have been deducted from his salary at the end of the 40 years to buy him an annuity for the rest of his expectancy of life after retirement of 1 per cent of \$800, or \$8, multiplied by 40, the number of years that he has been in the service, making \$320 per year.

It is figured that the deduction for teachers who enter the service and teach for 40 years will be approximately 4 per cent of their salary each year, or \$32 per year for the teacher who receives a basic salary of \$800 per year. The amount will be greater for those who enter the service later in life and for those who have been teaching a number of years at the time the law goes into effect, but the bill provides that the deductions shall in no case exceed 8 per cent of the teacher's annual basic salary.—From *School Life* of September 15, 1919.

LABORERS PAY BETTER

Boarding House Keepers Loathe to Take Teachers on This Score

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 5.—It is easier for a laborer than it is for a school teacher to get accommodations in an Ardmore boarding house.

This is the discovery made by S. E. Downs, superintendent of schools of Lower Merion township.

He made an extended effort at obtaining boarding house accommodations for a half dozen teachers for the township schools who are coming here from other localities.

"The situation is becoming worse," he said. "I had one boarding house keeper explain to me that she would much rather have school teachers as boarders than day laborers, but that the day laborers pay better. They can afford to pay more than teachers can."—From the *New York Evening Sun* of September 5, 1919.

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FOR TEACHERS

"The Payment of American Teachers," in the *Nation* of August 30, by Prof E S Evenden, of Teachers College, New York.

"The American Federation of Teachers," in the *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol IX, No 2, Washington, D C, by Mrs V B Turner.

"The Organization of Teachers in the United States," in the *Dial* of September 20, 1919, by Benjamin Glassberg.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

FROM LOCAL NO 5 (*The Teachers Union, New York*)

The Teachers Union of New York has launched another membership drive. This time the drive has taken the form of a One New Member per Member per Month Campaign. Every member is pledged to be responsible for at least one new member each month. The task is definite and feasible. There is every reason to believe that the campaign will result in the unionization of the largest school system in the world,—and one of the most reactionary.

Local No 5 has its work cut out for it in the field of legislation, in the school world, and in the larger labor world.

Heretofore teachers have been deluded by a false sense of security as to their tenure. They have believed that their tenure is safeguarded by limitations imposed upon the Board of Education as to the manner in which teachers may be tried and as to the causes for which they may be removed. They are beginning to realize now that in New York State the Education Law prescribes that a teacher may be removed "for cause." The nature of the cause not being described, it is within the discretion of the Board to remove the teacher for any cause which to it seems reasonable and proper. This general fact finds one interesting illustration in the dismissal by the Board of a teacher who refused to answer a question which had no bearing on the charges which had been brought against him. In the case of another teacher the efficient cause for her dismissal was her membership in the Society of Friends and her consequent refusal to take part in certain war activities. In the former case, an appeal to the courts resulted in the refusal of the courts to interfere in what it considered a purely administrative matter. Thus, the teacher is told that he has no right of appeal to the courts, a right which is conceded to the policeman and the fireman.

The Teachers Union is planning to bring about legislation which will define the causes for which teachers may be dismissed and which restore to the teacher the right of review by a court. In the method of trial also,

the Union is at work to evolve a plan whereby the teacher may be tried by a jury composed at least in part of his fellows.

New York City is one of the few large cities in which organized labor is not represented on the Board of Education. The Board is composed of seven members, the term of one member expiring each year. The Union has already started a campaign the object of which it is to secure the appointment of a labor man to fill the next vacancy. The Union is arousing the labor bodies to the need of representation on the Board, and to the havoc in the school system for which the absence of such representation is partly responsible. Labor is responding to the call and the chances for success in this direction are bright.

The Teachers Union has begun to collect data on the operation of the school system in New York. These data it will obtain from a source hitherto neglected by all other investigators, namely, from the teachers themselves. The Board of Education has authorized recently an investigation on its own account. The manner, the purpose, the nature of the Board's investigation are not quite clear, but the Union will submit its information to the official investigator and to the public generally. As a result of its investigation and on the basis of accurate information, the Union hopes to be in a position to propose a program of reorganization of the administration of the schools and a revision of the course of study.

Another line of activity, which has great possibilities, and along which the Union has mapped its course for the year, is a closer cooperation between the Teachers Union and the United Labor Education Board. This Labor Education Board has charge of the educational work of a number of the most powerful and progressive unions in New York City. It is no new enterprise. It has conducted night classes in the common branches, courses on social questions, and musical concerts of high quality. Members of the Teachers Union will be both teachers and students in this cooperative school. This affiliation will furnish an invaluable op-

portunity for an exchange of views and a sharing of experience. It will be an additional pledge of fellowship between the teacher and his fellow worker in other fields—and in that fellowship lies the salvation of the teacher, and of education.

JOSEPH JABLONOWER,
Organizer, Local No 5

FROM LOCAL NO 59

(The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers)

Not long did the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local No 59, remain the youngest child of the national federation. We had barely made ourselves known to the public when Local No 70 was announced, and now no doubt he is an older brother.

We came to life just at the moment when the opposition thought we had been denied forever. There had been a great deal of enthusiasm for some kind of union brought to a focus at the time of Mr. Stillman's address on February 1, 1919. The next Saturday was set as a time to decide whether or not Minneapolis teachers should join the American Federation and align themselves with the forces of organized labor. Before the appointed time our opponents began to work, and on Thursday at an annual pension meeting they produced three speakers for the opposition, with no one appointed to speak for the union. Mr. Robert Cowling, Chairman of the organization committee, took the floor and begged all present not to go away satisfied, but to come to the Saturday meeting in order to hear both sides of the question. But the pendulum had swung over. The bogey of strikes, disloyalty, unprofessionalism, dignity of labor without sufficient remuneration, were all too present. So a Teachers League was formed which would not affiliate with the A F of L. Perhaps the League would have seemed sufficient had it not made the mistake at its second meeting of allowing principals to become members.

Soon after this a small group of teachers known to be in favor of a federation with affiliation was called together and definite plans for organization were made. An executive committee of five was appointed. This committee chose a second committee of thir-

teen, and the eighteen members drew up a constitution, by-laws, and a program.

We delayed sending for a charter from March 1 to March 31 on account of the critical salary situation which the League was already handling. On April 12 at our first public meeting the charter had not arrived, but it bears the date April 2. The meeting of April 12 adopted the constitution and by-laws, accepted the tentative program, elected officers and decided to rent an office. Since then we have held meetings, committee and Federation alike, served tea, and enjoyed ourselves generally at headquarters, 109 So 9th Street.

Our membership is growing steadily. We have begun to work out our program on certain points "For the Teacher," and "For the Community." We have also printed a small paper called "Federation News" the first of two issues we hope to produce this year. Mr Louis Wallis addressed one of our meetings and Miss Alice Paul addressed our June meeting.

Fraternally yours,
ALTHEA HEITSMITH,
Publicity Chairman.

A LIVING WAGE

The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Again Demands That Their Positions Be Dignified By Reasonable Incomes

Last year the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers deferred to the unionized teachers in the matter of the salary campaign. This was done to keep faith with those who were afraid that the union would embarrass the efforts of the committee appointed by the massed teachers thru giving the impression that there was division among the teachers. At the same time we filed with the board a protest against their calling the increase granted a bonus, or war cost extra that will logically be withdrawn when a new schedule is adopted. We protested also against being put into a position where we could not campaign for salaries, for we considered the increase granted last year as a mere makeshift, in no way adequate to the crisis which confronted us. The plain fact is that whereas in the last decade every article commonly used by those who board, clothe and shelter us or by those of us who have taken the responsibility of supplying ourselves, has been increased over 100 per cent; during the same time our incomes have not averaged an increase of more than 50 per cent. To be more concrete, in 1916 the cost of living for a working-man's family of five was, according to a wage commission reporting in Chi-

cago, \$1,000; in 1919 that cost, according to conservative authority is \$1,600. While we class ourselves with workmen, it is unnecessary to point out to an intelligent community that the positive requirements of our positions make an increase of at least 33 1-3 per cent a reasonable estimate. Immediately, then, the salary of every teacher in Minneapolis should be increased to meet the absolute need. We call the teachers of Minneapolis to rally as never before to meet the issue here presented. This year should be the grand opportunity to strike for right. Any one who cannot see this must be either possessed of private means or be steeped in the lotus dream of natural selection. Let us march to this tune: It goes manly; less will be the portion of the beggar:

Schedule for 1920

A minimum of \$1,500 for every teacher in the schools.

All teachers now in the schools to receive another advance of \$200.

No merit system—no maximum—no dismissals except for proven cause.

This last plank is important, for there is evidence that the temptation to replace experienced teachers who are expensive by young graduates who come into the system at the minimum wage is too great to resist unless the organized teachers put stamina into the executive force. This can be done only by the institution of a faculty committee, similar to the shop committees in the English factories, in every school building, grade or high, this committee to advise the principal concerning the matters of educational efficiency that they understand better than he or she does. This committee would be of great use to safeguard the interests of pupils now often sacrificed to a false economy, as well as to block the extravagance that often obtains under the impression that something or other is being done to increase efficiency.

TEACHERS: Not your own interests, alone, but the good of the Minneapolis schools, and indeed of the entire nation, demands your unified action. Work with the *Minneapolis Federation of Teachers*, and thru it with the *American Federation of Teachers*, in over 100 organizations in city, village and country; and thru it with the *American Federation of Labor*, representing over 3,000,000 taxpaying families in the United States, and now closely allied with millions of taxpaying farmers, and thereby exerting unprecedented influence in the counsels of the nation.

TEACHERS! Arise, come with us and we will do you good. Join Local 59.—From *The Federation News* for September, 1919.

FROM LOCAL NO 72

(*Fresno High School Local, Fresno, Cal*)

We are getting along nicely. We are already doing things which we think are worth while. And at the same time we are gain-

ing strength. Our grammar and grade school teachers have formed an organization.

We are looking forward anxiously to the time when teachers all over the country will be firmly organized into this federation, for we feel that in this way, and only in this way will the teachers of the country come into their own. We cannot rely upon sentiment and the kindheartedness of the other fellow.

Fraternally yours,

WM A AUSTIN,

Corresponding Secretary, Local No 72.

FROM LOCAL NO 107

(*Moniteau County Teachers Union, Tipton, Mo*)

While attending the summer session of the State Teachers College at Warrensburg, Mo, we learned of the American Federation of Teachers. Tentative plans were made to organize locals in every county where it was possible. Accordingly, at the regular August Association of Public School teachers in Moniteau County the matter was presented and 43 signatures were signed to a petition applying for a charter in the American Federation. A temporary organization was formed with the following officers: Chairman, W I Oliver, California, Mo; Secretary, C O Williams, Tipton, Mo.

A letter from the National Secretary advises me that our organization for which a charter was granted on September 6th, is the first to be formed in this State. We are planning to effect a permanent organization on September 27th. At that time we shall make a special effort to get every teacher in the county lined up.

I am expecting a big movement in the unionization of teachers in Missouri this Fall, and I am pleased that we were able to form the first organization.

Our teachers are underpaid and schools are handicapped for lack of funds. Both of these conditions we expect to be remedied by a compact organization of teachers.

Fraternally yours,

C O WILLIAMS,

Secretary, Moniteau Co Union No 107.

Miss Lizzie Wooster, state superintendent of public instruction in Kansas, is reported to have cautioned the women school teachers of the Sunflower State against the use of too much cosmetic.—From *The Illinois Teacher* of September, 1919.

UNIONIZING THE PROFESSIONS

First it was the Teachers Federation of Chicago, followed by the teachers of other cities, then the professors of Harvard, then the scientists and specialists of Washington, who had unionized their profession and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The once despised labor union has become a power that the brain worker looks to as the only agency that can redress his grievances.

The Chicago teachers as teachers were laughed at by the politicians and ignored by the press; but they were taken seriously when they became members of the American Federation of Labor. The professors have been a sort of standing joke as men of highest learning who command the wages of children. And the technical experts have seen brawn with almost no training enjoying better wages and more freedom than brains with years of training.

Now it is the actors, best loved and most abused of our fellows!

Time was when the theatre was thought of as a combination of playwright, actors, and audience. A new factor has entered—the manager. He calls himself a manager, but is really an exploiter. He knows nothing of histrionic art. Like the vendor of patent medicines and gewgaws he tries to discover what will draw the public to the box office. If he can find a popular actor he starves the rest of the troupe and the playwright. If he gets a popular play he starves both the star and the troupe. He knows little of literature and less of art. His sole guide and measure is the box office receipts. He fixes royalties for authors, salaries for actors, and thru speculators juggles prices with the public.

He advertises himself instead of his troupe. And even when he has a great actor to exploit his announcement reads, "Mr. Blank presents Mr. Star." He has been deaf to all protests. He has treated the temperamental genius as he would the phlegmatic coal heaver. Consequently, there was nothing left but to organize the actors after the manner of the coal heavers. But when the actors as a profession attempted to bring pressure to bear upon the managers they merely provoked derision. As members of the American Federation of Labor, however, it will be different. The manager cared little if his actor struck—he could hire another. But if his audience strikes also it will be serious.

And that is what the new move means; for the hod carrier, coat makers, scrub women and the various trades will not patronize the "unfair" theatre. It was humiliating to some to ally themselves with trades unions, but now that teachers, professors, scientists, and actors have taken the plunge, it will be easy for the rest to follow. The Authors' League seriously considered the step a year ago, but the proposal was voted down. Next time there will probably be a different result. The worker is asserting himself in politics, industry and in the professions.—From *The Public* of August 23, 1919.

THE ACTORS' STRIKE

The actors and stagehands' strike, centering in New York and ramifying into the theatrical unions of Chicago, Boston, and Providence, ended after more than three weeks of bitter controversy with each faction claiming victory; the Actors' Equity Association, having won the recognition of the managers; the Fidelity League of actors, a new organization, loyal to the managers, satisfied that it would not be discriminated against; and finally, the managers, elated with the

privilege of still keeping open shop. The theatrical workers agreed not to go on sympathetic strike during five years; a board of arbitration, representing managers and actors was created; and complete amnesty so far as personal discrimination is concerned, was declared. The chorus is hereafter to receive a minimum of \$30 per week; full salaries are to be paid to actors after four weeks of rehearsal in the "legit" and five weeks in musical plays; and eight performances are to constitute a week's work. Augustus Thomas, who presided at the final getting together, said that it was neither the actors nor the managers who in reality won the fight. The true victors were the stagehands, who walked out on sympathetic strike in 680 of the theaters thruout the country. Meanwhile, in Paris the players, musicians, and stagehands, emulating the American precedent, organized in strong unions, and either walked out or were locked out, and the Madrid theatrical workers formed associations for the purpose of presenting demands for more favorable contracts.—From *The Public* of September 13, 1919.

TEACHERS' STRIKES

More than once in recent months we have expressed our views on the method of the strike as employed by teachers, and we observe with great regret that it still seems to find favour among a considerable section of the profession. We are glad to note that Mr. Fisher, in his recent address to the teachers of Dorsetshire, took exactly the view which we have ventured to urge in these columns. No one can say that Mr. Fisher is not a friend of the teachers. Most of us would probably say that he is the truest, as well as the most powerful, friend that the teachers ever had in high places. But he warns us that a teachers' strike, unlike any other strike, injures not the employers, who lose nothing by it, but the children, who lose a very great deal, and the teachers themselves, who may lose incalculably in moral prestige, and ultimately in professional prospects. It is no answer to say as we understand *The Schoolmaster* to say, that moral influence ought not to be expected from teachers alone, but from Education Committees as well. The locked-out children who swarm the streets of certain areas know nothing of Education Committees, and even their parents are apt to see these matters through the children's eyes. Except in a very indirect sense, one may as well talk about the moral influence of the moon as about that of an Educational Committee. Moral influence is essentially personal influence, and it is just there that teachers on strike stand to lose irreparably.—From *The Journal of Education* (London) of August, 1919.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Greatly as we deprecate force as a remedy for teachers' grievances, we would still urge upon the employers of teachers—i. e. upon the Local Education Authorities—how great a responsibility lies upon them in these days of collective action. Assuming, as we suppose we may do, that *The London Teacher* fairly reflects the present frame of mind of the teachers of the metropolis, the position there is obviously serious. The remarks of the editor betoken a studied restraint which cannot but command respect. Yet he tells us that "the blight of despair hangs over the London teaching service," that "the teachers are bruised in spirit and sore at heart," and that two years ago

"mutiny was averted only by arbitration." He believes that the London County Council, as a body, desire a contented teaching service relieved from penury, and that a majority of the Council is anxious to see justice done to the teachers. We welcome the improvement in salaries on which the Council have just decided; but the Council is a large body, the rank and file of which are accustomed to follow their leaders, and there is clearly a lurking fear lest those leaders should "gamble on the docility of the teachers." The warning here conveyed, and conveyed with a due sense of responsibility, is unmistakable. We trust that it will not be lost upon the Council, but that they will realize the vital importance of doing everything that is reasonable and just for the teachers in their employ.—From *The Journal of Education* (London) of August, 1919.

TEACHERS' STRIKES IN ENGLAND

All the elementary schools in Northampton were closed recently in consequence of the strike by 400 teachers of the city. The strike was called to enforce demands for an improved scale of salaries. A similar occurrence took place at North Riding, where, as a result of dispute over the salaries question, about 150 out of 400 schools in that area had to be closed.—From *School Life* of August, 1919.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE TEACHER'S JOB?

The *Independent* of New York in its issue of July 19, 1919, asked the question given in this title. The *Independent* "along with many others who are interested in education, is convinced that there is something the matter with the teacher's job. We want to find out if we can what is the matter, and what can be done about it. We are asking a large group of teachers in every State in the Union what they can tell us."

In addition teachers who read the article are asked to give the *Independent* the benefit of their experience.

The following interesting questions were asked:

How much do you have left after the bills are paid?

Should the principal select the teachers, or the teachers the principal?

Should school organizations be democratic? Why is a school board? Are teachers Ishmaels in the community? Are teachers underpaid? What can be done about it all? Have teachers the right of free speech?

Does a school board ever ask a teacher's advice? Should it? Is the teacher—like the doctor and the lawyer—respected as a member of a profession?

These questions indicate that the *Independent* itself has been receiving a liberal education in the union movement. When that periodical is quite ready, we trust that it will deliver itself of its convictions on this important matter.

HOWLERS

FROM THE "BOLSHEVIK"

EXAMINATION CONDUCTED IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS BY THE NEW YORK BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS IN JUNE, 1919.

"Kerensky was the Czar of Russia who was overthrown."

"Allenby is comander of the English troops on the East Side."

"Alsace Lorraine was a cause of the war because the Germans wanted to come thru Alsace Lorraine to Fiume that's why Alsace Lorraine was a cause of the war."

"Kerensky was a Russian Bolshevik leader."

"The Russian Bolsheviks are people who believe in governing by the mass and equal rights for all. They originated in Russia but spread in all countries. They do not believe in order or in law. They want to cut out all politics, taxes and graft."

"The right of each person to the products of his efforts is not in accordance with the Bolshevik way of thinking, because they are against work of any kind."

It is for you, without hope of aid or support, or even of consent, to change primary education from the ground up, in order to make workers. There is place today in our society only for workers; the rest will be swept away in the storm. Make intelligent workers, instructed in the arts they practice, knowing what they owe to the national and to the human community.

Burn all the books which teach hatred. Exalt work and love. Let us develop reasonable men, capable of trampling under foot the vain splendor of barbaric glories.—Anatole France, from address to Convention at Tours, on August 7, 1919.

This is the Official Organ

of the

American Federation of Teachers

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

OFFICERS OF THE A F O T

President, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer, F G STECKER, Chicago
1618 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

National Organizer; First Vice-President,
L V LAMPSON, Washington, D C
1336 Otis Place, N W

Roster of Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

(With Names of Secretaries)

82	HOBOKEN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS Florence H Yeaton	204 Eleventh Street, Hoboken, N J
83	COLLINSVILLE GRADE TEACHERS FELLOWSHIP Cora M Jones	904 W Clay Street, Collinsville, Ill
84	FRESNO ELEMENTARY TEACHERS LOCAL Hattie Hammat	1020 Roosevelt Avenue, Fresno, Cal
85	UNION OF BOSTON H S WOMEN TEACHERS Margaret C Cotter	7 Ashton Place, Cambridge, Mass
86	NEWARK TEACHERS UNION Edna Furman	156 N 7th Street, Newark, N J
87	JERSEY CITY TEACHERS UNION Helene R Cummings	2128 Boulevard, Jersey City, N J
88	BOSTON WOMEN TEACHERS UNION Anna M Niland	202 Byron Street, East Boston, Mass
89	ATLANTA P S TEACHERS ASSOCIATION Mary C Barker	123 Myrtle Street, Atlanta, Ga
90	INDIANAPOLIS TEACHERS COOPERATIVE ASS'N F H Gillespie	1520 E Vermont Street, Indianapolis, Ind
91	SIoux CITY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL CHAPTER Jane Chase	1620 Jackson Street, Sioux City, Ia
92	PATERSON TEACHERS UNION Lillian Mitchell,	114 Paterson Street, Paterson, N J
93	MERIDAN LOCAL Sue F Hamm	2008 Eleventh Street, Meridan, Miss
94	FITCHBURG TEACHERS FEDERATION Helen F Stratton	80 Highland Avenue, Fitchburg, Mass
95	PAWTUCKET TEACHERS FEDERATION Mary E Keenan	Box 488, Providence, R I
96	COLLEGE TEACHERS ORGANIZATION (North Dakota Agricultural College) Katherine Jensen	1106 College Street, Fargo, N D
97	CAMBRIDGE LOCAL Mary G Snow	1129 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass
98	SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF TRENTON Ona E Reed	32 N Clinton Avenue, Trenton N J
99	WASHBURN TEACHERS FEDERATION A M Hyde	16th and Boswell Streets, Topeka, Kans
100	BOSTON FEDERATION OF MEN TEACHERS John A Marsh	56 Peter Parley Road, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass
101	SUPERIOR STATE NORMAL SCH OL CHAPTER Agnes V Kirk	State Normal School, Superior, Wis
102	BEAUMONT TEACHERS ASSOCIATION Effie Piland	496 Highland Avenue, Beaumont, Tex
103	BELLINGHAM FEDERATION OF TLACHERS P H Evanson	159 Howe Street, Seattle, Wash
104	LYNN LOCAL Mary P O'Neill	58 Autumn Street, E Lynn, Mass
105	SAN ANTONIO TEACHERS LOCAL Mrs L E Gates	311 S San Jacinto Street, San Antonio, Texas
106	MCCRACKEN COUNTY FEDERATION OF TEACHERS S J Billington	R F D No 5, Paducah, Ky
107	MONITEAU COUNTY TEACHERS UNION C O Williams	Tipton, Mo
108	JOHNSON COUNTY TEACHERS UNION Nellie Hart Sterling	Warrensburg, Mo
109	BATES COUNTY TEACHERS UNION Charles A Lee	Butler, Mo
110	ST LOUIS HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION L Gilbert Dake	5854 Maple Avenue, St Louis, Mo
111	HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS UNION OF PORTLAND, ORE Nettie Mae Rankin	1157 E Broadway, Portland, Ore
112	LORAIN LOCAL W C Phebus	1143 Eighth Street, Lorain, Ohio

California State Federation of Teachers, Organized May 31, 1919. (Vallejo, Sacramento High School Sacramento Elementary, Visalia, San Francisco, Fresno High School, Benicia, Fresno Elementary Locals.) Pres, S G McLean, 1723 M Street, Sacramento, Calif. Sec, Josephine Colby, 124 N Van Ness Boul, Fresno, Calif.

When practicable the locals of any state may organize a state federation of teachers, draft a constitution, elect officers, levy per capita, and take steps to advance the interests of the membership in that state, by and with the consent of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers.

Cooperative Scholars

DR HIRCANO AYUSO Y O'HORIBE

Chief of the Department of Public Education of Yucatan, Mexico

THE establishment of cooperative societies is a problem of evident reality, which the working-classes, for their part, are already trying to solve, as a remedy for tempering the severity of their economic difficulties; and this same problem, because of its importance, because of its indisputable transcendancy, must also reach the school, altho in a different form, so that the minds of the children, the workmen of to-morrow, may be trained to it from the beginning, and in order to prepare for the advent of a social order, better than our own, resulting from the well-being of each of its members.

There is a true school of love and fraternity in *cooperation*. When our wills join and *cooperate* in the execution of the same aim, the personality which induces the action becomes one. Then the force of cohesion between human entities develops, and one learns the never-to-be forgotten fact, that in union there is strength. Cooperation is an element making for order, as it inspires love for propriety, always the enemy of disorder; it increases the spirit of association, establishing among individuals bonds of union, brotherhood and solidarity; it contributes to the fortification of the spirit of morality, through the custom of making good use of savings; and it inspires ideals of economy, stimulating each one, by the example of the rest, to strive to be better, more skilful, and more intelligent, with the purpose of gaining respect and esteem among his associates.

An attempt at cooperation could be made in the school. Not only the cooperation of capital, nor only that of production, nor only that of consumption; for the children are not exclusively capitalists, nor producers, nor

consumers, but something of each. All children have savings, however, small they may be, and in these capital is represented. All children produce, either in the scholastic field, or in manual work, or in the numerous little tasks and industries which their awakening activity induces them to undertake; and in all this production is represented. All children consume, for they buy books, notebooks, pencils, candy, etc.; and in this is represented consumption. Then why not profit by those laws which govern the small society of the school, opening the eyes of the child to the light, which to-morrow, in the great society of life, will blind him, if he has not been taught about it, or will ennoble him if he has been educated to it?

The above expressed considerations the Department of Public Education of Yucatan has made to the faculty of the schools of Merida, the Capital for this department is trying to bring about a first trial at cooperation in the institutions of learning, for which purpose it has recommended to the faculty that they should study attentively the fitness for this which the pupils show, and how it may be taken advantage of.

Cooperation has an indisputable importance in the child-mind. If we succeed in establishing small but complete cooperative societies in our schools, we shall have gained for the future of our people a surety of better times.

The School Republic has already been tried.

Now we are going to try this useful and important reform.—*Translated by Miss Edna Davidson, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, N. Y.*

TEACHERS!

*Make Money
by Getting Advertisements
for The American Teacher*

We Pay Good Commissions.

Some business firms in your locality would surely welcome the chance to reach the teachers of the country.

OUR RATES:

Back Page..\$65.00 One Page..\$50.00
 1/2 Page.... 30.00 1/4 Page ... 16.00
 One Inch..... \$5.00

*Here's one article
of school equipment which
hasn't advanced in price!*

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

Buff Buckram Binding

A given amount of money purchases far less than it did four years ago; still, you may buy for your school or for your personal use this "Supreme Authority," containing hundreds of the New Words, including war terms (a better book than in 1914) at no increase in price.

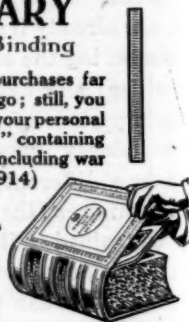
The NEW INTERNATIONAL is as necessary in the school room and in the teacher's library as a clock is in the home.

*Ask for the
Merriam Webster*

Help your pupils to form early the Dictionary Habit.

WRITE for Free Booklets to Teachers:
 "What Fun to Play Merriam-Dictionary Games,"
 "Unlocks the Door," "Dog-Day Club."

G. & C. MERRIAM CO. SPRINGFIELD
 MASS., U. S. A.



DON'T BUY FURS THIS WINTER

until you have called on

The Teachers Cooperative, 1181 Broadway, New York

NATURALLY every woman likes furs. Yet she is liable to stint herself in her ambition to wear that article on account of the present high prices which it brings. By arrangement with some of the leading fur manufacturers, we are enabled to sell to the teachers at practically wholesale prices.

How Would You Like to Save from 25% to 35%?

The Teachers Cooperative, composed of a group of New York city school teachers, is studying the problem of solving the high cost of living for the teacher. We have begun with furs, which today is a woman's necessity. We help you buy and save.

Furs of Every Quality and Description.

Call or Write Without Delay.

Out of Town Orders Filled.

Mention *The American Teacher* in writing to advertisers.